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AUTHOR Cahill, Edward E.
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ABSTRACT

Although limited in scope, census data still provide the best general indexes of social change in the United States and where comparable categories over time periods exist the data can provide the basis for making decisions relevant to anticipated changes in the future. Changes from rural to urban residence among blacks in various age groups are well documented and are associated with shifts in occupations which vary by race, sex, and age. Upward shifts in occupational levels from farming through clerical, sales, technical, professional, and managerial and administrative categories bear a relationship to the stability of these various groups. Distributional changes in occupations between 1960 and 1970 by age, sex, and race reflect to some extent an increase in the proportions of blacks in those occupations demanding more education and training (particularly younger blacks), increasing specialization in American society, and reductions in discrimination in occupations that had been previously closed to blacks. Data suggest that an equalization of income levels and economic opportunities would make future occupational and residential mobility less necessary than at present, would increase educational opportunities in succeeding generations, and would continue to minimize the differences between the races. (Author/NH)

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SOCIAL RELEVANCE OF RECENT RESIDENCE AND OCCUPATIONAL SHIFTS OF BLACKS*

by

Edward E. Cahill
Institute for Behavioral Research
636 Graduate Studies Research Center
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30602

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Edward E. Cahill

Introduction

Social change theorists have contributed to the conceptualization and broad based categorizations showing differences between urban and rural societies, describing the process of change, status-role differentiation attendant thereto, the effects of technological innovation on life styles, and a host of other variables that have led to or been the effect of social innovations. Often the theoretical concepts of social change have been based on comparatively little empirical data with, as Hornel Hart once said, "considerable degrees of subjectivity" in interpretation (Hart, 1959, p. 105). Although demographers have described changes in population composition and been concerned with the meticulous measurement of many of the associated variables, only recently have masses of data regarding individual behavior become available to scholars to examine theories of social change. With increasing amounts of information, refinements in concepts have also developed. Thus, we have moved from the more simple rural-urban classification scheme to that of a metropolitan-nonmetropolitan classification, with differentiations between central cities, urbanized areas, outside urbanized areas within metropolitan areas, and distinctions between the rural farm and nonfarm populations.

The indices of social change as measured by census data have been, and continue to be, limited to the questions asked. The strict adherence to the law protecting the confidentiality of census records and the nature of the questions asked made it virtually impossible to study changes in individual behavior. Consequently, while distributional differences of the population have been recorded and described in some detail (for example, Folger and Nam, 1967; Price, 1969; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1971), there have been few analyses of individual behavioral changes. We have inferred characteristics of social change from distributional differences over the recorded time periods, and in such categories as place of residence, income level, labor force participation, marital status, etc., for selected groups. Nevertheless, census data, including the Current Population Surveys, still provide the best general indices of social change in the United States and where comparable categories over time periods exist the data can provide the basis for making decisions relevant to anticipated changes in the future.

The questions on migration, the development of the public use samples for 1960 and 1970, and the questions on occupation and industry five years ago now provide us with basic materials for analyzing social change in a way not hitherto available. One can but speculate how Durkheim's "Division of Labor in Society" may have been written had the data from recent censuses and Current Population Surveys been available to him as it is to us today. Yet, many of the tenets of that classic have been substantiated by the information that we have. The focus of this paper is on several aspects of social change, namely, recent shifts in residence and occupation of blacks and the social relevance of these shifts.

Although questions on occupation and industry have been asked on the U. S. Census since 1820, giving us knowledge of the distribution of the labor force by industry and occupation, the 1970 Census was the first to ask additional questions relating to occupation and industry five years previously. A number of studies have chronicled individual histories of occupational mobility, but these census questions and their answers provide information on occupational shifts not hitherto known on such a large scale for the United States. Thus, like the questions on migration, data on occupation five years prior to the census can provide further insights into the process of social change, particularly as it may be measured through individual behavioral characteristics (for example, what proportion of the population can be expected to shift occupations between censuses? At what age levels? By what racial and sexual characteristics?). While all pertinent questions cannot be answered immediately, some insights may be developed.

Durkheim has suggested:

> "The greater the division of labor, the greater the dependency of the individual on society, on the one hand; on the other hand, the more specialized the individual the more personal his activity. Yet no matter how specialized the activity, it is never completely original. Even in the exercise of a profession we conform to usages, to practices which are common to the whole profession. But even in this case the yoke we submit to is much less heavy than when society completely controls us, and it leaves much more place open for the free play of our initiative. Here, then, the individuality of all grows at the same time as that of its parts."
> (Durkheim, p. 131)

Most of us know from personal experience that the series of occupational choices which we have made have been affected considerably by economic circumstances, the degree of freedom and independence associated with an occupation, the need for income, other opportunities available, and the training and education necessary for particular occupations. In our highly urbanized society few have been engaged in the same occupation and the same industry throughout their lifetime. Occupational mobility, then, is a function of the choices and training of the individual as well as external circumstances inherent in society. The amount and type of mobility in a society reflects these circumstances, as well as characteristics of the individual. As our technology has advanced and we have moved from an agrarian to an industrial nation, greater specialization has occurred, and with it more freedom to move between occupations (Kahl, 1962; especially Chapter III).

While some may view nostalgically from a distance the rural agricultural life with its comparative independence as opposed to the monotonous job of tightening nuts on an assembly line for eight hours a day, for the farm laborer, tied to the soil and dependent on natural events for his livelihood, no such repining exists; in fact, the urban nut-tightener might well have much greater independence overall despite the tediousness of his job eight hours per day. It comes as no great surprise, then, that the hope of a better, freer life in the city stimulates both occupational and residential mobility among workers, especially those who have benefitted least from their work on farms, viz., blacks and other migrant farm workers.

Change in Rural-Urban Residence Among Blacks

As cited elsewhere (Cahill, 1973), the precipitous decline of the black rural dweller since World War II has made the black population for all practical purposes an urban population (Figure 1). Less than four percent of employed blacks were in the agriculture, fishing and forestry industries in 1970 (U.S. Bureau of Census, PC(1)-D1, Table 134). Moreover, given the age specific rates of out-migration from nonmetropolitan counties (Bowles et al., 1973), the characteristics of aging and the diminishing fertility of blacks in rural areas (U.S. Bureau of Census, PC(2)-1B), it is reasonable to assume that the decrease in the black population in these areas will remain high for the 1970-1980 decade. As late as 1940, 75 percent of the black population was concentrated in the South, and in predominantly rural areas. Now, however, about half the black population resides in the South, and more than two-thirds of that population is concentrated in urban areas (Cahill, 1973).

It should be noted, too, that in 1960 about 30 percent of the nonmetropolitan black population was under twenty years of age; by 1970 this age group constituted more than one-third of the black nonmetropolitan population (Bowles, 1973). With this large a proportion coming into the ages of highest potential net migration, we can anticipate continued high out-migration of blacks from nonmetropolitan areas in the 1970's. Not only has the black population moved from the rural and nonmetropolitan areas, but it has become concentrated in comparatively few metropolitan areas. In 1970 more than 60 percent of the black population was concentrated in 90 metropolitan counties.

Occupational Shifts, 1965-1970

With geographic migration there is a high probability of occupational shifting. The process of geographic migration involves much more than sheer physical movement as Bowles has pointed out in a paper that has received less recognition than it deserves (Bowles, 1963). Much of what is said there is equally true of occupational shifts. Each shift requires the individual to learn a new set of customs and usages to adjust to different persons, authority, job demands, and income levels. It also requires similar adjustments within one's family and among one's peers, and an adjustment on the part of those left behind -- all factors contributing to overall social change.

The question relating to occupation in 1965 was asked of persons in the five percent sample who had answered "yes" to the question on working at a job or business in 1970. Reliability tests have shown that the number of persons reported as working in 1965 is probably understated since there is a tendency for respondents to forget intermittent or short-term employment. There are indications that failure to recall accurately made this question subject to greater error than those on occupation and industry in 1970 (U.S. Bureau of Census, PC(2)-7E, p. viii). It should be remembered, too, that the 1970 question on job activity referred to the week before the census, thus some seasonal workers, for example, those in farm related activities, may have reported higher unemployment than other workers for that year. Although some of the differences reported among population groups may be due to sampling variability, inaccurate or underreporting, there are marked differences worth noting.

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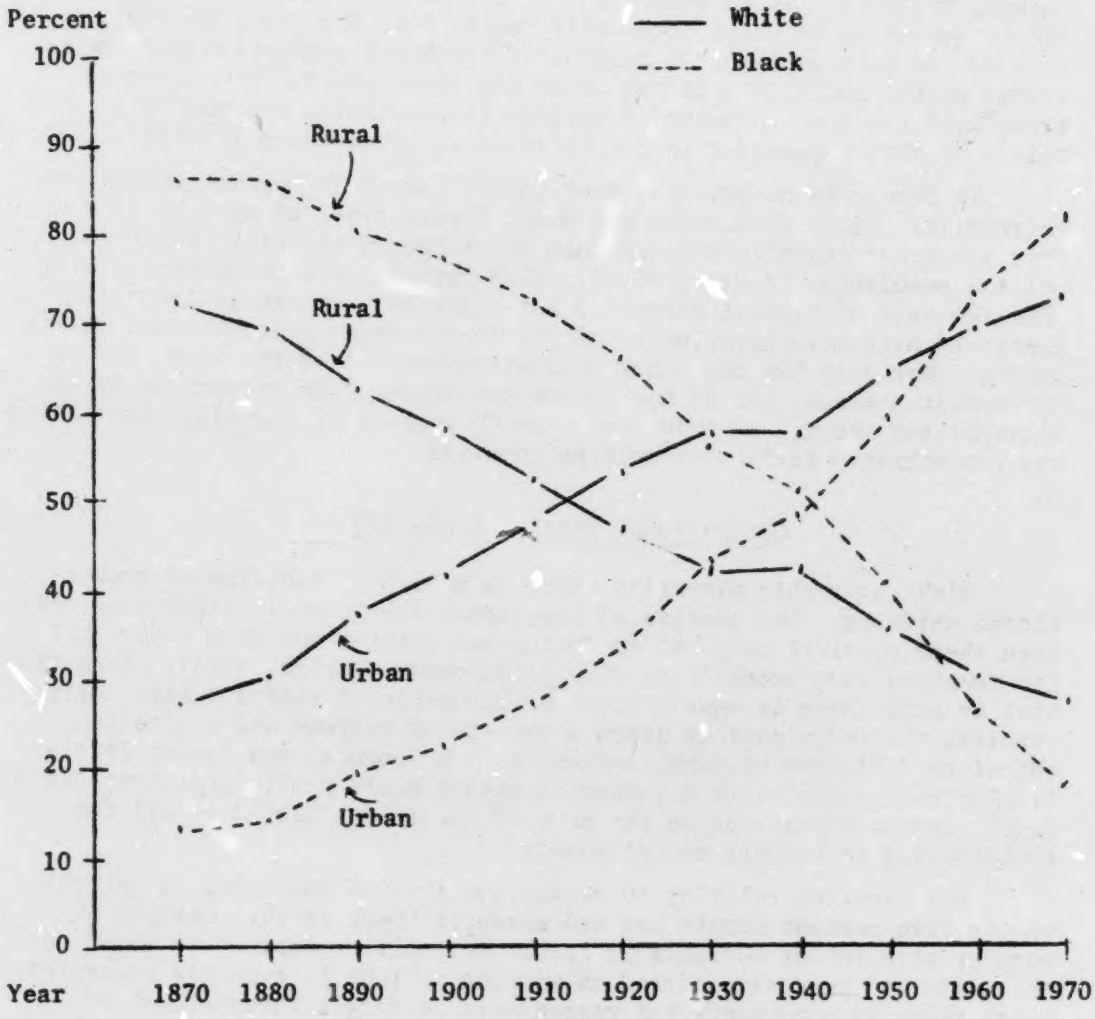
FIGURE 1

Urban and Rural Population by Race, 1870-1970



Source: E. S. Lee, et al., Population Redistribution and Economic Growth, United States, 1870-1950, Tables p. 4, 4B, 4C;
U. S. Bureau of Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. I, Characteristics of Population, Table 158.
U. S. Bureau of Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1970, General Population Characteristics, Final Report PC(1)-B1, United States Summary, Table 52.

Blacks generally have lower interstate migration rates nationally than whites, but they showed a slightly higher propensity for change between major occupational groupings between 1965-1970 (Table 1). Except for those in the younger ages, black females were slightly more stable than white females. There was a larger proportionate turnover of black males than white males in most occupational groups, with the most notable exceptions non-farm laborers and service workers. Among these laborers the difference is accounted for primarily by the movement of younger white males, ages 20-34 years, in which only one of two was in the same occupational group for both periods, compared with two of three among blacks. For young white males such laboring jobs are usually interim, but for blacks there is a greater tendency toward permanency.

Of particular interest is the proportion of females that changed occupational groups in this short period. The increase in the labor force participation rate of females is now well known. While Price has shown that females generally had higher indices of change than males in most major occupational groups between 1940 and 1960 (Price, 1969, p. 118), middle aged and older black females show the greatest stability among all groups for the 1965-70 period. More than one-third of women aged 30-49 years in 1970 were reported not employed in 1965. Many of these probably entered the labor force after their children reached maturity.

The type of occupational shift occurring is of equal social significance. Changes in major occupational groups among those who were working in 1965 and the group to which they had moved by 1970 are presented in Table 2. Among black males the most stable groups, that is, those remaining in a given occupational group for both periods, are professional, technical, and kindred workers (85%), and craftsmen (80%). The least stable are persons in sales, with less than 60 percent retention. One of every three black farm workers left this category since 1965. About one-third of those who shifted out of the professional, technical, and kindred workers class moved into the managerial and administrators category. The movement of blacks from the latter to the former classification might very well be a movement upward due to the possibility of increased income for the individual thus involved. The movement from the professional class to the clerical and service classes, however, needs some explanation for these two classes also account for about one-third of those who moved out of the professional classification between 1965 and 1970 among blacks.

The greatest shift among black males within a single occupational group was from sales workers. About one-fourth of these moved into the professional or managerial class, but the greatest proportion moved into the clerical and kindred worker group. The others shifted almost equally to each of the other occupational classifications except for farm workers.

Given the high rates of black migration from the farm and rural areas in general, one would expect that farming and related activities would have high rates of turnover. They do. In fact, the proportion of blacks, males and females, engaged in farming is now so small that the only categories with fewer workers reporting occupation for both 1965 and 1970 are managers and sales workers among males. More than a third of those engaged in farming in 1965 had shifted to other occupations by 1970. And more than half of these became laborers other than farmers and operatives. The shift from farming to the other laborers category was the highest proportional shift among all the occupational categories for black males.

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TABLE 1. Percent of Employed Persons, Aged 20 Years and Over in the Same Major Occupation Group in Both 1965 and 1970, By Race, Sex, and Age: 1970.

United States	All Occup.	Prof., Tech., and Kind. Wkrs.	Mgrs. and Adm., excp. Farm	Sales Wkrs.	Cler. and Kind. Wkrs.	Crfts. and Kind. Wkrs.	Oper., except Trans.	Trans. Equip. Oper.	Lbrs., except Farm	Farm Wkrs.	Serv. Wkrs., incl. Priv. Hshld.
RACE, SEX, AND AGE											
White male, 20-64 yrs. old	75.4	82.7	69.6	72.0	67.4	79.2	74.6	72.2	62.3	90.4	70.9
20-34 years	60.6	69.5	51.4	52.9	51.8	65.0	62.9	53.2	50.0	80.4	55.5
35-49 years	78.9	87.8	70.3	75.5	71.8	82.2	77.9	79.0	65.4	90.5	76.6
50-64 years	83.2	88.4	80.6	81.3	75.8	87.2	82.8	82.6	71.6	93.7	75.4
65 + years	81.8	90.1	83.7	79.9	68.4	86.9	78.3	73.5	66.6	94.0	72.7
White female, 20-64 yrs. old	83.2	86.3	63.8	75.8	86.3	67.3	87.0	63.3	58.8	87.0	82.7
20-34 years	74.7	75.0	36.9	45.8	82.4	50.1	76.0	38.2	42.2	73.3	70.5
35-49 years	83.8	88.7	60.9	74.2	86.9	66.7	87.8	68.0	59.6	87.5	82.8
50-64 years	87.8	92.2	72.9	84.1	89.3	75.9	91.7	77.9	67.3	91.3	87.3
65 + years	88.8	93.3	79.8	86.8	88.9	81.2	91.5	73.5	70.4	92.5	89.4
Negro male, 20-64 yrs. old	73.7	79.3	59.2	61.1	69.3	71.9	72.8	73.2	73.5	88.9	77.5
20-34 years	60.9	68.4	39.8	48.1	55.9	59.2	61.5	58.1	60.3	83.5	66.2
35-49 years	76.7	84.0	58.9	65.5	76.7	75.3	76.6	78.0	75.8	87.8	78.4
50-64 years	82.4	86.2	75.0	67.1	77.9	80.7	83.5	83.7	81.9	91.9	82.5
65 + years	81.8	91.0	79.9	74.8	69.2	83.2	80.7	74.6	75.0	93.2	82.7
Negro female, 20-64 yrs. old	83.2	85.3	54.6	63.2	75.7	61.9	77.3	63.8	56.7	83.3	91.2
20-34 years	73.5	76.5	35.7	51.4	72.4	48.1	67.2	49.8	41.5	83.6	83.7
35-49 years	84.5	88.4	52.1	64.8	78.6	64.7	80.3	62.3	61.6	82.7	93.0
50-64 years	90.4	91.4	70.4	72.7	80.4	75.0	86.8	76.2	67.3	82.6	94.4
65 + years	92.9	86.0	78.8	84.8	75.1	74.5	81.8	81.1	68.1	88.3	96.9

Source: Derived from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, Subject Reports, Final Report, PC(2)-7E, Occupation and Residence in 1965, Tables 1, 2, and 3.

TABLE 2. Percent in Major Occupation Group in 1970 by Major Occupation Group in 1965, Negro Males, 20 Years Old and Older - United States: 1970.

1965 Occupation	1970 Occupation										
	Total	Prof., Tech., etc.	Mgrs. and Adm., exc. Farm	Sales Wkrs.	Cler., etc.	Crafts, etc.	Oper. exc. Trans.	Trans. Equip. Oper.	Lab., exc. Farm	Farm Workers	Service Workers incl. Private Hshold
TOTAL MALES	3,814,243	230,848	117,933	70,466	300,015	605,925	753,893	390,848	589,363	167,516	587,436
WORKERS	2,847,423	5.6	3.3	1.7	7.3	16.4	19.5	11.0	15.2	4.6	15.3
Prof., Tech., etc.	140,575	82.9	5.8	0.9	2.8	1.9	1.4	0.7	0.9	0.1	2.5
Mgrs., Adm., exc. Farm	72,034	4.8	70.4	3.6	4.4	4.0	3.7	2.3	2.3	0.4	4.1
Sales Wkrs.	43,349	4.2	7.2	58.8	7.8	4.8	4.8	3.5	2.8	0.5	5.4
Cler., etc.	177,035	4.0	2.5	1.6	72.9	3.7	4.6	3.2	3.5	0.1	3.9
Crafts, etc.	376,854	1.0	1.2	0.4	1.7	79.5	6.6	2.5	3.6	0.5	2.9
Oper., exc. Trans.	476,248	0.8	0.8	0.5	2.3	7.1	74.9	3.6	5.4	0.6	4.0
Trans. Equip. Oper.	272,163	0.5	0.8	0.6	2.2	4.4	5.6	75.7	5.3	0.6	4.1
Lab., exc. Farm	421,037	0.7	0.8	0.4	2.6	7.9	9.3	4.9	66.6	1.2	5.5
Farm Wkrs.	162,941	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.8	4.6	8.8	3.7	10.6	65.8	5.0
Serv. Wkrs., incl. P.H.	401,058	1.4	1.1	0.7	2.7	4.0	6.1	3.0	4.9	0.4	75.6
Occupation not rep.	304,129	4.4	3.0	1.7	7.0	16.5	21.6	10.3	17.2	3.2	15.0
Armed Forces	149,149	8.7	3.5	3.0	14.6	16.1	21.1	9.0	10.0	0.9	13.0
Not Working in 1970	817,671	7.0	2.2	2.2	8.6	14.0	20.4	7.9	17.2	4.4	16.0

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970. Subject Reports, Final Report, PC(2)-7E, Occupation and Residence in 1965, Table 2.

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Among black females the occupational category with the greatest stability is the professional, technical, and kindred workers group. (Incidentally, there are 60 percent more females in this category than black males, contrasted with whites where there are 47 percent fewer females than males.) Of the 1965 professional females changing major occupational categories more than half were classified as service workers in 1970. As with black males, there is probably some disparity in the classification scheme at work between these categories. One wonders if perhaps there may not have been some confusion on the part of the respondents to this question. Clerical workers reporting occupation for both periods are about as stable as the professional group. (Table 2A)

Only half the women reporting farm work as an occupation in 1965 were similarly occupied in 1970. More than 60 percent of those who moved out of farming went into service or household work by 1970, and a large proportion became operatives, about one-fifth of those who left farming. These two categories supply about two-thirds of the black women who shifted to the farm workers category in 1970. While there were about 12,000 black men who changed to the farm workers category between 1965 and 1970, there were only about 3,000 women who did so, compared with 106,000 men and 15,000 women who left this category.

More than half the black farm workers aged 20-29 in 1965 had shifted to other occupational categories by 1970. Black workers are leaving farm labor in great proportions; still, the seasonality of the work for the two time periods may have had an affect on the reporting in the census. Over half of the black farm workers were past age 35 and a third of the total was past 50 years. The farm workers category is the only occupational group in which there was an overall decrease in number and proportion of black workers between 1965 and 1970. In fact, while all other categories were experiencing increases of between 30 and 60 percent over the five-year period, the farm workers category experienced a 22 percent decline in the number thus employed (U.S. Bureau of Census, PC(2)-7E, Tables 2 and 3).

Aspects of Distributional Changes in Occupations, 1960 and 1970

Price has graphically described the changing distribution of black workers by occupational classification (Price, 1969, 1973). Of considerable importance is the relative change in this distribution by age groups. In 1970 more than twice the proportion of black males aged 25-34 years as those aged 55-64 years were in the professional and managerial classifications. About twice the proportion of the elderly group compared with the younger group were classified as farmers or service workers. By contrast, white males, except for farm workers, maintained close to the same proportions in each age group (Table 3).

The increase of the proportions of blacks in those occupations demanding more education and training, particularly the younger blacks, reflects both the increasing specialization of American society as well as reductions in discrimination in occupations that had been previously closed to blacks. Still, the proportions of blacks engaged in the more educationally demanding professions is considerably less than that for whites within the same age groups. Among the younger males (ages 25-34, for example) almost one-third of the white employed persons are in the professional and managerial categories, but fewer than one of eight black males are thus employed. Among the 50-64 year old group, only six percent of blacks are professionals or managers, compared with 40 percent of whites.

TABLE 2A. Percent in Major Occupation Group in 1970 by Major Occupation Group in 1965, Negro Females, 20 Years Old and Older - United States: 1970.

1965 Occupation	1970 Occupation											
	Total	Prof., Tech., etc.	Mgrs. and Adm., exc. Farm	Sales Wkrs.	Cler., etc.	Crafts, etc.	Oper. exc. Trans.	Trans. Equip. Oper.	Lab., exc. Farm	Farm Wkrs.	Service Workers	Private Hshold
TOTAL FEMALES	3,040,905	370,646	45,956	74,148	604,063	46,778	509,350	12,434	44,391	39,513	807,574	586,052
WORKERS	1,917,562	12.9	1.8	2.1	17.1	1.6	15.6	0.4	1.4	1.1	25.9	20.1
Prof., Tech., etc.	266,855	86.5	1.7	0.3	3.8	0.1	0.9	---	0.1	0.1	5.7	0.7
Mgrs., Adm., exc. Farm	26,108	5.4	67.9	2.5	11.0	0.9	2.7	0.1	0.7	0.1	7.1	1.7
Sales Wkrs.	41,353	4.9	3.1	54.5	20.3	1.0	5.8	---	1.0	0.1	7.4	1.9
Cler., etc.	266,100	5.0	1.7	1.2	84.8	0.5	2.2	---	0.3	---	3.5	0.6
Crafts, etc.	25,315	2.2	1.1	1.0	6.9	67.5	9.9	0.9	2.1	0.3	6.5	1.7
Oper., exc. Trans.	261,735	1.3	0.3	0.8	6.7	1.5	79.0	0.2	1.0	0.2	6.9	2.1
Trans. Equip. Oper.	6,646	0.5	---	0.9	5.5	4.3	6.7	69.3	2.4	0.5	8.0	1.9
Lab., exc. Farm	24,312	1.4	1.2	2.4	9.1	2.1	12.3	2.3	54.1	0.4	10.1	4.6
Farm Wkrs.	30,853	1.9	0.3	0.4	1.9	0.8	9.8	0.4	2.1	51.0	13.7	17.6
Serv. Wkrs.	440,736	2.1	0.6	0.8	5.4	0.5	5.3	0.1	0.6	0.1	79.8	4.5
Priv. Hshold	393,881	0.7	0.2	0.4	1.6	0.2	4.3	0.1	0.4	0.4	10.6	81.0
Occupation not. rep.	173,668	10.4	1.7	2.1	16.7	2.2	18.2	0.5	1.7	1.0	28.6	17.0
Armed Forces/Not Working in 1965	1,223,343	10.0	0.9	2.8	22.6	1.3	17.2	0.4	1.5	1.5	25.4	16.5

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, Subject Reports, Final Report, PC(2)-7E, Occupation and Residence in 1965, Table 3.

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TABLE 3. Occupational Distribution of Employed Blacks and Nonwhites Aged 20 to 64, By Age and Sex, United States: 1970 and 1960.

	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-54	55-59	60-64
NEGRO MALES - 1970							
TOTAL	477,874	506,119	459,076	895,913	791,077	305,406	212,801
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Prof., Tech., etc.	6.5	8.3	7.9	6.8	4.5	3.4	3.3
Mgrs. & Adm., exc. Farm	1.8	3.0	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.3	3.2
Sales Workers	2.6	2.7	2.4	1.8	1.3	1.2	1.3
Clerical, etc.	11.8	9.5	8.3	7.6	6.9	5.5	4.8
Craftsmen, etc.	13.4	15.8	16.7	17.5	16.9	14.3	13.1
Oper., incl. Trans.	32.6	33.3	32.6	31.1	29.2	26.3	23.4
Laborers, exc. Farm	15.4	13.1	13.3	14.3	16.6	18.8	18.8
Farm Workers	3.4	2.7	3.1	3.4	4.6	6.2	7.6
Serv. Wkrs., incl. P.H.	12.5	11.6	12.2	13.6	16.5	21.0	24.7
NONWHITE MALES - 1960							
TOTAL	365,540	416,348	450,999	889,854	729,467	279,280	167,777
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Prof., Tech., etc.	3.2	6.7	6.6	4.7	3.2	2.7	3.2
Mgrs. & Adm., exc. Farm	0.8	1.4	2.1	2.9	3.3	3.5	3.7
Sales Workers	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.4
Clerical, etc.	7.0	7.5	7.0	5.9	4.1	3.3	3.2
Craftsmen, etc.	8.4	10.7	12.3	13.5	12.1	10.9	10.1
Oper., incl. Trans.	27.6	29.6	29.8	28.6	25.0	21.3	17.9
Laborers, exc. Farm	22.2	21.1	20.4	20.9	21.8	22.1	20.8
Farm Workers	12.1	8.1	7.7	9.2	12.9	15.6	17.5
Serv. Wkrs., incl. P.H.	17.0	13.4	12.6	12.9	16.3	19.4	22.2
NEGRO FEMALES - 1970							
TOTAL	468,714	408,672	378,166	747,368	624,686	228,173	150,597
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Prof., Tech., etc.	9.9	14.8	14.0	13.5	10.3	8.9	8.9
Mgrs. & Adm., exc. Farm	0.7	1.1	1.4	1.7	2.0	1.9	1.8
Sales Workers	3.1	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.0	1.8	1.7
Clerical, etc.	39.1	27.3	21.7	16.3	11.5	7.3	5.9
Craftsmen, etc.	1.3	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.2	1.2
Oper., incl. Trans.	18.5	20.1	19.4	17.6	15.2	12.1	10.4
Laborers, exc. Farm	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.4	1.3
Farm Workers	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.5
Service Workers	19.7	22.2	26.0	28.4	29.4	28.2	25.4
Private Household	5.6	7.9	10.9	15.9	25.5	35.9	42.1
NONWHITE FEMALES - 1960							
TOTAL	249,876	269,486	310,056	636,600	494,121	163,321	91,821
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Prof., Tech., etc.	8.8	12.6	10.6	8.0	7.2	6.2	5.4
Mgrs. & Adm., exc. Farm	0.4	0.7	1.1	1.4	1.8	1.8	1.9
Sales Workers	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.9	1.6	1.4	1.5
Clerical, etc.	17.6	14.3	12.0	8.8	4.5	3.0	2.3
Craftsmen, etc.	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.6
Oper., incl. Trans.	14.6	15.0	17.0	16.2	12.4	10.4	8.9
Laborers, exc. Farm	1.3	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	1.0
Farm Workers	3.6	3.0	2.9	3.2	3.6	4.3	4.9
Service Workers	24.1	23.6	23.5	23.5	22.2	20.0	18.3
Private Household	26.9	27.1	29.2	35.1	45.0	51.4	55.2

Sources: U.S. Bur. of Census. 1960, PC(1)-D, Table 204; 1970, PC(1)-D1, Table 226.

Progress, yes, but rather slowly and even some of this may be a result of the "black men lost in the census" or underreporting in the younger age categories (cf. Siegel, 1973).

An even more telling aspect of social differentiation may be found in the statistics showing the proportion of blacks unemployed or not in the labor force in 1970 who had been employed in 1965. Not only is there a high degree of occupational mobility among blacks, there is also an extraordinarily high proportion of black males that had moved into the status of the unemployed or out of the labor force during the five-year period. More than one of every nine black males between ages 20-64 in 1970 who had been employed in 1965 moved into the ranks of the unemployed or out of the labor force before 1970, compared with one of 14 white males (U.S. Bureau of Census, PC(2)-7E, Table 2). Thus, nearly half a million presumably able-bodied workers previously employed were not working in 1970, representing a rather extensive underutilization of human resources among black males. Some of these may have moved into educational or training programs, but that is not known exactly from census data.

Conclusions and Relevance for Policy

With the movement of blacks from rural to urban areas there has been a continuing necessity for increasing job opportunities in urban areas. Simultaneously, increasing specialization restricts employment. The urbanization process thus makes demands upon individuals and families of adaptation and adjustment that force other changes in social institutions. The 1960's saw the implementation of civil rights legislation unlike any other period in the history of the country. Judging from income and occupational data in the census, the relative position of blacks in the social structure of the United States has improved considerably, especially for the young. Even so, black median incomes are still lower than those of whites controlling for education and occupational variables, although the differences are less today than in previous periods.

Those who have shifted occupations most during the five years prior to the census were the young, both males and females, sales workers, laborers, and farm workers. About one of five black farm workers in 1965 between ages 45 and 59 was unemployed or out of the labor force in 1970, the highest proportion of all classes of workers who had been employed in 1965 for this age group. In general, the likelihood of shifting occupations is greater for the youngest workers, but older black workers in the low paying occupations run a very high risk of unemployment or being forced out of the labor market well before the usual retirement age.

While blacks show a greater propensity for occupational shifts than whites, particularly among the lower paying occupational groups, it is evident that these are not necessarily reflective of a high degree of geographic or social mobility. Indeed, as income and home-ownership increases, black workers show a greater propensity for moving less frequently over the five-year period than do whites, suggesting that one way of maintaining social stability and reducing interracial tensions would be to increase the income of blacks, or at least equalizing it within respective occupational groups so that neither

occupational nor residential mobility would be as necessary. Equalization of income levels and economic opportunities will increase educational opportunities in succeeding generations and continue to minimize the differences between the races. Moreover, as black children witness the success of their parents and others, much of the intergenerational tension often displaced toward whites may be reduced.

Presently it appears that except for a small percentage of educated persons, middle aged and elderly blacks have comparatively little opportunity for upward social mobility measured either in terms of occupational prestige or income levels. For them the choice tends toward lateral movement or movement out of the labor force altogether. With the changes brought through civil rights legislation and improved education of younger blacks, life chances have greatly improved. Despite the improvements, however, there remains a disproportionate number of blacks unemployed, out of the labor force, or in low paying, highly vulnerable occupations.

While social change produced through technological improvements and urbanization have improved life opportunities generally, this improvement has not been equally shared by races and generations.

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